

Message Text

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TAGS: SHUM UN UNHRC

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC) - EXCHANGE WITH SOVIET REP ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA AND DOUBLE STANDARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

1. ON FEB 26 SOVIET REP ZORIN DELIVERED LONG AND BITING
ATTACK ON US IN COURSE OF A GENERAL STATEMENT ON RELATIONS
WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HE ACCUSED US OF BEING AN ACCOMPLICE IN
APARTHEID, OF ARMING PROFESSIONAL KILLERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
AND PRACTICING A DOUBLE STANDARD OF MORALITY IN ITS FOREIGN
POLICY.

2. US REP GARMENT ANSWERED SOVIET CHARGES IN COURSE OF FEB
27 MEETING. HIS REMARKS FOLLOWED A LENGTHY REBUTTAL OF
SOVIET ATTACK ON WESTERN COUNTRIES BY FRG REP. TEXT OF
GARMENT'S STATEMENT REPEATED AT END OF THIS MESSAGE.

3. SOVIET REP ZORIN MADE BRIEF RIGHT OF REPLY IN WHICH HIS
ONLY POINT WAS THAT SOVIET UNION UPHOLDS PROVISIONS OF CSCE
FINAL ACT.

4. TEXT OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT.

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STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES POLICY

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND
SOVIET CHARGE OF DOUBLE STANDARD IN UNITED STATES POLICY

BY
LEONARD GARMENT
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

FEB 27, 1976

MR CHAIRMAN:

I WANT TO STATE QUITE CLEARLY WHAT THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IS ON THE SUBJECT OF COLONIAL REGIMES AND APARTHEID. THE UNITED STATES HAS MAINTAINED AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1963. IT OPPOSES CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN CONTROL OF NAMIBIA. WITHOUT RESERVATION WHATSOEVER THE UNITED STATES HAS SPOKEN OUT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID. IT SPEAKS OUT AGAINST APARTHEID IN MULTILATERAL MEETINGS, AND IT REPEATS THIS POSITION IN BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE US ENCOURAGES US CORPORATIONS OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA TO IMPLEMENT REAL CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES. IN BRIEF THE US WORKS ACTIVELY TO STIMULATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRESSIVE RACIAL POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

YET THERE ARE LIMITS TO THE WILLINGNESS OF THE US TO SUPPORT ANY POLICY MERELY BECAUSE IT IS DIRECTED AT APARTHEID. THE RESOLUTION SUBMITTED UNDER THIS ITEM CONTAINS SO MUCH PROVOCATIVE AND SWEEPING LANGUAGE THAT WE CANNOT SUPPORT IT. BY ITSELF OPERATIVE PARA 4(D), CALLING FOR A TOTAL EMBARGO BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL JUSTIFIES A NEGATIVE VOTE.

NOW OUR POLICY IS A STRAIGHTFORWARD ONE. OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND OUR CONVICTION THAT THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO ENDURE, AFFECTS IN VERY REAL AND DIRECT WAYS OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IN FACT IT WOULD NOT BE AN OVERSTATEMENT TO SAY THAT OUR CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFECTS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA MORE THAN OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AFFECTS OTHER BILATERAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RELATIONSHIPS. SO IF THERE IS A DOUBLE STANDARD IN OUR POLICY-- AS THE SOVIET REP ASSERTED YESTERDAY--IT CAN ONLY BE ONE KIND: THAT WE SHOULD HAVE OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AFFECT ALL OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS TO THE EXTENT THAT IT AFFECTS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

NOW TURNING TO THE REP WHO VOICED SUCH SPECIFIC AND VITUPERATIVE CRITICISM OF THE US WE DO INDEED

HAVE AN INTERESTING SITUATION.

THERE ARE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED HERE WHO CAN CHARGE THAT US POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT WHAT IT SHOULD BE IN ONE RESPECT OR ANOTHER. FOR THERE ARE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE IN FACT ADOPTED AND FOLLOWED ABSOLUTE POLICIES OF OPPOSITION NOT ONLY TO APARTHEID BUT ALSO TO THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN FORCES IN POLITICS THOROUGHOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA. BUT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT ONE OF THOSE COUNTRIES. IT CAN HARDLY BE SAID TO HAVE ABSTAINED FROM MEDDLING IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA--FOR CERTAINLY ARMING AND TRANSPORTING A MERCENARY FORCE OF 12,000 TROOPS FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF INTERFERING IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND KILLING AFRICANS IS NOT A HANDS-OFF POLICY. I AM CONFIDENT THAT IN THE NOT SO LONG RUN THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA WILL SEE THROUGH THE SELF-SERVING AND SELF-RIGHTEOUS OPPORTUNISM OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TAKE ABSOLUTE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN DESTINY.

IT MAY OF COURSE BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIET REP TO IDENTIFY A DOUBLE STANDARD WHEN HE SEES ONE. HIS ABILITY TO DO SO MAY BE DISTORTED BY HIS OWN IDEOLOGICAL PREFERENCES, OR EVEN BY UNFAILING ADHERENCE TO SOME DEFINITIONS OF WHAT IS A DOUBLE STANDARD, WHAT IS SELECTIVE MORALITY, OR WHAT IS INTERFERENCE IN A STATE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. BUT WE DO NOT NEED DEFINITIONS TO RECOGNIZE A DOUBLE STANDARD, SELECTIVE MORALITY, OR INTERFERENCE IN ANOTHER STATE'S AFFAIRS WHEN WE SEE IT. PRAGUE -- 1948; BUDAPEST -- 1956; PRAGUE -- 1968. THE SIGNS OF ITS PRESENCE WERE THEN AS NOW FOREIGN TROOPS RIDING ON TOP OF SOVIET TANKS.

MR CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION WAS SURPRISED BY THE TONE AND CONTENT OF THE ATTACKS THAT THE SOVIET REP MADE YESTERDAY IN CHARGING THE US WITH A DOUBLE STANDARD. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHEN HE MADE THESE MALICIOUS CHARGES HE OBVIOUSLY THOUGHT HE WAS IMMUNE FROM BEING ANSWERED, THAT NO ONE WOULD QUESTION HIS REMARKS; HE WAS WRONG. AND QUESTIONS IN THIS COMMISSION DESERVE ANSWERS.

I ASKED PREVIOUSLY WHY THE SOVIET UNION HESITATES TO AFFIRM--HERE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION--THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS FROM THE HELSINKI DECLARATION. WHAT FAULT DOES IT FIND IN THEM?

MUST WE LISTEN TO VOICES OTHER THAN THAT OF THE SOVIET REP FOR THE ANSWER? MUST WE LISTEN TO A NOBEL LAUREATE WHO WAS STRIPPED OF HIS CITIZENSHIP BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES AND NOW LIVES IN EXILE? MUST WE LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF LAST YEAR'S WINNER OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, WHO CON-

TINUES HIS FIGHT AT HOME FOR HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER THE MOST
ADVERSE - AND PERVERSE - CONDITIONS? MUST WE LISTEN TO A
UKRANIAN SCIENTIST IN PARIS DESCRIBING THE UNSPEAKABLE CON-
DITIONS OF HIS IMPRISONMENT IN A PSYCHIATRIC PRISON? MUST WE
LISTEN FOT THE LESS AUDIBLE BUT NUMBERLESS VOICES, WHO
REPEAT ALMOST IN UNISON THE REASONS WHY THE SOVIET REP HAS
FOUND THIS SPECIFIC AND SEPARATE REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS PRO-
VISION SO OBJECTIONABLE?

THESE ARE QUESTIONS THAT DESERVE ANSWERS. WHAT IS WRONG
WITH THIS PART OF THE HELSINKI DECLARATION? DOESN'T THE SOVIET
UNION SUPPORT THESE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS? IS THE SOVIET
DELEGATION IN THE PROCESS OF RENOUNCING FORMALLY WHAT MANY
FEEL THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RENOUNCING BY ITS PRACTICES
EVER SINCE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED AT HELSINKI? DOES THE
SOVIET UNION REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE EVEN THE MODEST TRIBUTE
PAID TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE FINAL ACT OR IS THEIR MENTION
FORBIDDEN UNLESS AUTOMATICALLY AND UNFAIRINGLY COUPLED WITH
THE DECLARATION'S CONFIRMATION OF THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO
IN EUROPE? ALL OF THAT WOULD BE ENLIGHTENING TO THE US,
TO THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMISSION, AND TO PEOPLE
EVERYWHERE WHO ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED WITH THE PROTECTION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS. DALE

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